1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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from French and adjusted to Polynesian phonetics, but some words are derived from English (51, pp. 31-32). Now Spanish is becoming more common, and, since the founding of a school at Hanga-roa by the Chilean government, its use will undoubtedly increase. Most natives are receptive to foreign languages. It is almost inevitable that the Easter Island language will disappear entirely.

By extensive comparisons of vocabularies, Churchill (51) has attempted to determine the exact position of the Easter Island language in relation to the rest of Polynesia, principally to the southeastern division. The statistical method of Churchill is not convincing, but his results are worth mentioning:

> Of the eastern Polynesian languages Churchill found the Tuamotuan dialect to be the most closely related to that of Easter Island. His Tuamotuan material is so incomplete that the affinity of the two languages must be investigated in the light of new evidence. In the vocabularies of Mangareva which were at his disposal, Churchill (51, p. 162) discovered 651 vocables common to Mangareva and Easter Island languages. The dialects differ only in that the Mangarevan *h* has been replaced by the glottal stop. This creates an important phonetic difference between the two languages. The Easter Island dialect shows striking affinity with Maori.

The grammar of the Easter Island language is typically Polynesian and presents no striking individuality. No special gestures accompany speech. The motion of denial consists of throwing the head slightly backward and lifting the eyebrows.

NAMES OF EASTER ISLAND

Easter Island was named by Roggeveen for the day on which he discovered it—Easter Sunday, 1722. In 1770 the Spaniards under Gonzalez had called it San Carlos in honor of Carlos III, the king of Spain, but this name lasted no longer than the memory of the soon-forgotten expedition. At first the Spaniards christened it "Isla de Davis", believing that they had found the island sighted by the English buccaneer, Edward Davis. Captain Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 288) uses Davis's Land as a synonym for Easter Island.

Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 293) and his companions, in 1774, unsuccessfully attempted to discover the native name of Easter Island. The name Teapi was obtained by the Tahitian, Otiti, who understood a little of the native language. Tamariki was also given, but both of these may have been place names. The name Whyhu (Vaihu) was recorded by the reconnoitering party sent by Cook to the interior:

> On its way along the coast the expedition met a chief who was asked his name and whether he was the king of the island or of only one district. The gesture of the *ariki* was interpreted as embracing all the island, and as he uttered the word Vaihu and even made affirmative gestures when called "the *ariki* of Vaihu", the explorers were persuaded that they were speaking with the king of Easter Island. On J. R. Forster's authority (84, vol. 1, p. 589), Easter Island was called Vaihu, until this name was found to apply only to a cove on the south coast near which the interview with the chief took place.

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The name Rapa-nui is of recent origin. It is first mentioned in 1864 by Father Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 52). A few years later Father Roussel investigated the whole question of names and came to the following conclusion (190, p. 356):

> Native tradition has it that Easter Island never had a maori name which distinguished it from the numerous islands of the Pacific. Rapa-nui is unknown to the natives. This name was introduced by foreigners—that is, by natives of the neighboring islands who called here with the whalers. Over and over I repeated my questions to ascertain the reliability of their statements. They always answered, "We do not know Rapa-nui. Our land has never had a proper name. We only know Hangaroa, Vaihu, Hotu-iti, etc. Everything but the island has a name." This nomenclature extends to houses, mountain peaks, cliffs, the smallest spot of land, stones; hence the names Matavivi, Hanga-piko, Hapina, and so on.

Palmer (171, p. 167), who visited the island while Father Roussel was still there, believes that the name Rapa-nui was given by early immigrants from Rapa (Oparo or Rapa-iti), who called Easter Island the "great Rapa" because of its large size. However, there is no other evidence of an ancient connection between Rapa and Easter Island.

Thomson (215, p. 453) states that the name Rapa-nui was given by the kidnapped Easter Islanders who returned from Peru. They found that Rapa was better known than their own island, so they changed the name Te-Pito-te-henua to Rapa-nui. This explanation was undoubtedly invented by a European to account for a name which was obviously new. Cooke (54, p. 702) writes that the name Rapa-nui was given to the island by Tahitians in 1866 to distinguish it from Rapa-iti. Jaussen (115, p. 240) attributes the name to a sailor.

Rapa-nui is mentioned three times in the Rarotongan traditions as an island visited by early native voyagers (209, vol. 28, pp. 74, 192). Like Stokes (212), I consider the inclusion of Rapa-nui in these traditions to be recent. At the time they were recorded, Easter Islanders had been dispersed throughout Polynesia, some of them residing in the Cook Islands (190 and 89, p. 213). Nowadays the name Rapa-nui is popular on the island itself and is used throughout Polynesia in referring to Easter Island or its inhabitants.

De Lapelin (129, p. 109, note 4) believed that Easter Island was the Mata-ki-te-rangi mentioned in a Mangarevan tradition which he heard in Tahiti. Mata-ki-te-rangi probably refers to Pitcairn or some other island and has been identified with Easter Island only in recent times.

Alexander P. Salmon, a Tahitian and a keen investigator of the island traditions, is responsible for the name Te-Pito-te-henua, transcribed by Geiseler (87, p. 5), and Clark (52, p. 145) into the Tahitian form of *fenua*. Thomson (215, p. 452) and Cooke (54, p. 701) were also told by Salmon in 1886 that this was the original name of the island. They translated it "navel and uterus" and found it appropriate for an island where the volcanic

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cones had the form of navels and where the Rano-kao and the Rano-raraku could be considered the "uterus" or the "womb" of the land or perhaps of the statues. If the legend of Hotu-matua was dictated to Thomson in its true native form, the name Te-Pito-te-henua was bestowed upon the island by its first king just after he landed at Anakena. Thomson translates the name "The navel-of-the-deep"; Cooke (54, p. 708) calls it "The-land-in-the-middle-of-the-sea"; Jaussen's posthumous paper (112) calls it "The-navel-of-the-world." The word *pito* means "end" as well as "navel", and thus the mysterious name discovered by Salmon would be "The-end-of-the-land". This interpretation was proposed by Churchill (51, p. 3) and confirmed by some Easter Islanders who pointed out on a map the three promontories as the "pito-te-henua" or the ends of the island.

Te-Pito-te-henua is not unknown to the present islanders who must hear it frequently from visitors. My informant insisted that a large round stone on Ahu-te-pito-te-kura was the "navel" from which originated the name of Te-Pito-te-henua, but I have good reason to believe that he forged this tradition. The name may have some remote connection with the cutting of the navel cords of Tuu-ma-heke and of Ava-reipua, shortly after the arrival of Hotu-matua (p. 56) on the island.

Thomson (215, p. 452) and Cooke (54, p. 702) says that the name Hiti-te-eiranga (misspelled Kiti-te-eiranga) was used by the English. Jaussen (112) gives it as one of the names of the island. Churchill (51, p. 2) discards it as non-existent either in the Easter Island dialect or in any other Polynesian language. Stokes (212) has brought new evidence that during the last century the name Hiti-ai-rangi (The-border-of-the-sky) was, if not the real name of the island, one of the names by which it was known abroad. In Rapa he met natives from Tokelau and central Polynesia who had returned from Peru on the same ship which carried back to Easter Island the survivors of the 1862 kidnapping. These men remembered that the Easter Islanders on board called their home country Hiti-ai-rangi, but one of them also heard the name Rapa-nui from a sailor on the ship. If Hiti-ai-rangi was actually the native name for Easter Island it would have been known to Roussel, who spoke the native language and made special inquiries about it, and to Salmon and others who stayed long on the island. Present natives are totally ignorant of this word. Like Rapa-nui, Hiti-ai-rangi was perhaps a name given to the island by foreigners at the time when European influence brought together natives of distant Polynesian islands.

None of the names discussed here has been accepted unanimously by the islanders. In my opinion, there was no native name for the whole island. If there had been one it could hardly have disappeared by the time the natives were first asked for it. Originally, no need was felt for a general name for the island, as it was probably never visited by the inhabitants of other islands.

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901 103 The lack of a name for the island as a whole "was quite in accord with the islander's habit of mind to speckle his home with names changing every few feet and to leave the major divisions nameless" (51, p. 4).

EUROPEAN CONTACTS

175 [133] With no sheltered harbors along its coast and with winds which suddenly shift direction, Easter Island does not afford safe anchorage for any vessel, least of all for sailing ships. This unfavorable geographical feature combined with isolation, lack of resources, and the suspicious attitude of the natives is partly responsible for the enigmas presented by the island's culture. The early discoverers and seafarers were little inclined to stay long on an island considered dangerous for ships and men; information about the native culture was obtained hurriedly and is generally superficial or incomplete, notwithstanding the talent of observers like Cook, the two Forsters, La Pérouse, or Beechey and the enormous interest they took in the strange monuments they saw scattered everywhere. When the missionaries settled on the island, in the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century, the old life had already disappeared.

175 609 The mysterious land, "500 leagues from Copiapo," sighted in 1687 by the buccaneer, Edward Davis, was probably not Easter Island but Mangareva. In his quest for the hypothetical land of Davis, Roggeveen came upon Easter Island on the fifth of April, 1722. The following day a native went on board the flagship, where he made a very favorable impression. He was cheerful, "lively in mien, as well as pleasing in speech and gesture" (18, vol. 1, p. 123). His behavior was observed with much curiosity (186, p. 8). And as the musicians played their instruments for him, "he began at once to caper and dance about" (18, vol. 1, p. 124). He was sent ashore with various small gifts.

Later a great many natives boarded the ships and showed (186, p. 11) "at that time their great cupidity for everything they saw; and were so daring that they took the seamen's hats and caps from off their heads, and sprang overboard with the spoil." Further attempts to pilfer were made when Roggeveen and a party of 137 men landed. The resulting confusion and the threatening appearance of the islanders, who picked up stones, frightened some of the crew, who fired a volley. Ten or twelve natives were killed and the others ran away. But, as no more harm was done them, the fugitives returned with friendly gestures and with no apparent resentment. They were ordered by a chief to bring to the foreigners presents of sugar cane, bananas, fowls, and yams. If Behrens (18, vol. 1, p. 128) is to be relied upon, they even bowed and knelt before the Dutchmen and brought them standards like those they presented to their *ariki*. Behrens (18, vol. 1, p. 134) says that the women proposed themselves quite openly and were offered to the sailors by

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language of the island, and when the U.S.S. *Mohican* arrived in 1886, he was the source of much of the information which they subsequently published. It is an important but difficult matter to know how far the material thus gleaned thirty years ago was carefully obtained and reproduced. One or two of the folk-tales are still told very much as retailed by Salmon, but he appears to have taken little interest in the surviving customs and failed to understand them. The report of the *Mohican*, made by Paymaster Thomson, has been the only account of the island in existence with any pretention to scientific value.[1] The *Mohican* was there eleven days, and Thomson went rapidly round the island with a party from the ship. The amount of ground covered and work done is remarkable, although his statements are naturally not free from the errors inseparable from such rapid observation.

In 1888 the Chilean Government formally took possession. In 1897 M. Merlet, of Valparaiso, purchased from the representatives of Brander, Bornier, and Salmon, their interest in Easter Island, with the exception of a tract of land containing the village of Hanga Roa, which the Chilean Government acquired from the missionaries and retained in the interest of the inhabitants; this land covers a far larger space than the natives are able to utilise. The population is again increasing, as will have been seen from the fact that during our visit they numbered two hundred and fifty. M. Merlet subsequently sold his holding to a company, of which he became chairman.

Easter Island has had many names. That given by the Dutchman has become generally accepted, but the Spaniards christened it San Carlos, and in some maps it is termed "Waihu," a name of a part of the island erroneously understood as applying to the whole. A native name is Te Pito-te-henua, "*henua*" means usually "earth" and "*pito*" "navel."[2] Thomson says it was ascribed to the first comers. Elsewhere in the Pacific "*pito*" also means "end." Churchill holds the name signified simply "Land's End," and was applied to all these angles of the island, which was itself without a name.[3] Rapa-nui (or Great Rapa) is another native name for which various explanations are offered.

[1] *Smithsonian Report*, 1889.
[2] In the *Odyssey* Athene speaks of Odysseus as "in a sea-girt isle, where is the navel of the sea." (*Odyssey*, Bk. I., l. 50, Butcher & Lang.)
[3] *Easter Island. The Rapa-nui Speech.* W. Churchill, p. 3.

210. PRE-CHRISTIAN CULTURE

● 101 The island of Rapa, sometimes known as Rapa-iti, lies some two thousand miles to the westward. Thomson states that the name Rapa-nui only dates from the time when the men kidnapped by the Peruvians were being returned to their homes. The Easter Islanders, finding no one knew the name Te Pito-te-henua, and that some comrades in distress from the other Rapa managed to make their place of origin understood, called their own home Rapa-nui; a story which sounds hardly probable, but was presumably obtained from Salmon.

According to the report of H.M.S. *Topaze*, the Islanders of their day believed that Rapa was their original home. Others state the name was given by a visitor from that island.

114 The brief accounts which have been referred to are all that is known from external evidence of the original life of the present people, and but little hope was held out to us in England that those fragments could still be supplemented. There were found, however, to be still in existence two possible sources of information, namely, the memories of old inhabitants, and the actual traces which still remain of the life led by the people previous to the Peruvian raid and the coming of Christianity. The great ahu which have so far been described are only a part, although the most imposing portion, of the stone remains of the island. It is fortunate for the student that when civilisation appeared the natives were gathered into one settlement, for they left behind them, sprinkled over the island, various erections connected with their original domestic life. These buildings were certainly being used in recent times, and are treated from this point of view, but for all we know they may have been, and very possibly were, contemporary with the great works.

The study of the remains on the island, from the greatest to the least, is by no means so simple as may hitherto have appeared. Our earliest attempts at descriptions, although conscientious, were almost ludicrous in the light of subsequent knowledge, and Captain Beechey's error on the subject of " the busts " is at least comprehensible. Easter, it must be remembered, is a mass of disintegrating rocks. When in an idle moment the Expedition amused itself by inventing an heraldic design for the island, it was universally agreed that the main emblem must undoubtedly be a " stone," " and as supporters," suggested one frivolous member, " two cockroaches rampant." The most